20c JANUARY 22, 1951

New Republic

PRAVDA—BETWEEN THE LINES

By ERNEST J. SIMMONS

CHRISTIANITY IN RED CHINA

By LEONARD CONSTANTINE

AMERICA'S NEWEST DIPLOMAT

By DALE KRAMER

LAURENCE'S "HELL BOMB"

REVIEWED By JAMES R. NEWMAN

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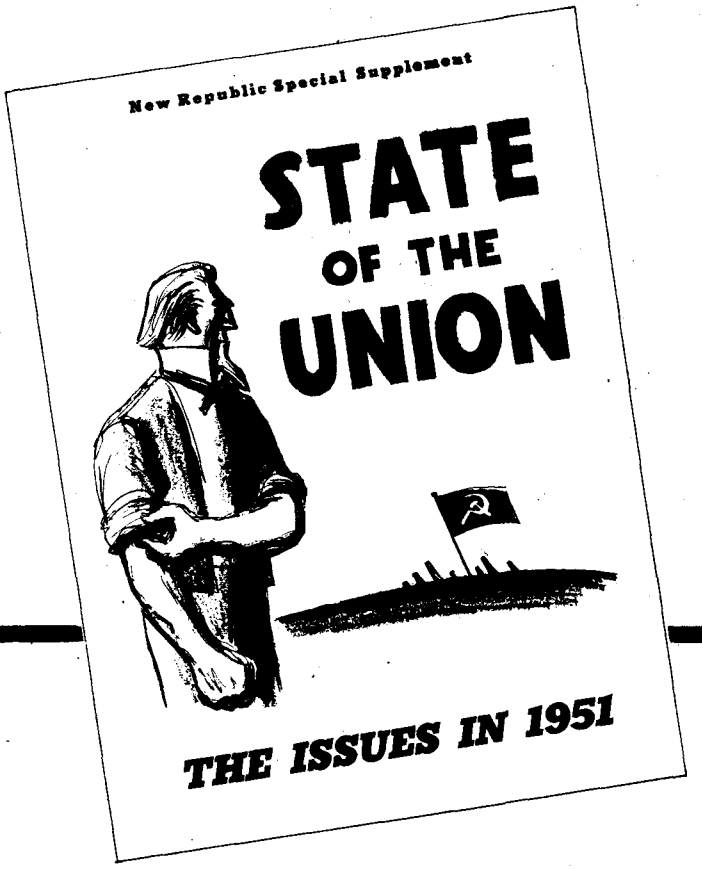

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New Republic

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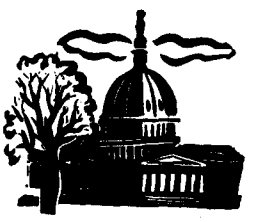
WASHINGTON WIRE

IT TAKES about a month, we estimate, for the shock of big news to go out over America and echo its seismatic response back to Congress. The shock this week is the cost of our duel with Russia. The three-item bill is now being presented. First, boys of 18, it is proposed, shall be drafted for two years; second, taxes must be upped about 30 percent; third, to restrain prices and wages means accepting a planned economy temporarily at least.



Components of this bill in lives, dollars and altered customs are staggering. Most people haven't allowed themselves to think about it so far. The Administration has been backward in presenting the true situation; it has been scandalously slow in bringing forward the necessary price-control mechanism.

But now the facts are out, and we have to wait public reaction. Politicians have said they are willing to pay "any cost" to resist Communism. Well, this is the cost. Politicians will be the first to say they can do the job cheaper. Instead of a pay-as-you-go tax program, for example, they will almost certainly prefer creeping inflation which amounts to a concealed capital levy. But for all that, the grim bill is there.

We must wait for a month or so now and see what the little man out there—the chap whose light we see flickering dimly from some solitary house as our transcontinental plane sweeps overhead—thinks about it. Then we will know what America thinks about it and how united we are as a nation.

Young Cabot Lodge (R, Mass.) did a brilliant job answering Taft on foreign affairs in the Senate last week. (He is 48 but anybody under 60 is "young" in the Senate.) He emerged definitely as the GOP successor to Vandenberg; we guess he may get the GOP 1952 Vice-Presidential nomination. He is handsome, self-possessed, authoritative; leaning casually against his desk with fingers in vest of his pin-stripe suit, he smiled away efforts of the Old Guard—Taft, Wherry, Capehart and Millikin—to chastise him and gave friendly but tough answers. When Taft and Millikin tended to lose their tempers, his nonchalant aplomb saved them, for which they probably thank him in their hearts.

The emergence of such a commanding GOP internationalist spokesman is important. Taft dominates the GOP on domestic matters. His forces have just ousted liberal Senators Ives (N. Y.) and Margaret Chase Smith (Maine) from the GOP Senate Policy Committee for their part in criticizing "McCarthyism" last session. But on foreign affairs Taft's narrow nationalism divides the party and will block Taft's own 1952 Presidential aspirations, we firmly believe. Taft, for example, in the last Congress got only 12 other Senators to go along with him in opposing North Atlantic Pact ratification, 82 to 13. A lot of Republicans don't sympathize with Taft's ill-timed legalism over the President's Constitutional power to send troops abroad. Senator Knowland (R, Calif.), for example, who criticizes Acheson on Korea, strongly opposes Taft on Europe. Taft is something of an enigma. He has a strong sense of responsibility. Yet he seemed to relish his tactless brutal description of how the US would bomb out Western Europe's industries to prevent their falling into Communist hands in event of any retreat. Talk like this was Taft at his worst. It injured Eisenhower's mission. Quiet-spoken Senator Fulbright (D, Ark.) called it "shocking." What was probably more galling to Taft, "young" Lodge publicly deplored it.

Truman knows the crisis in leadership has come as he presents his three-part mobilization bill. His actions show it. He soft-pedaled New Deal proposals in his State of the Union message. He has written a "Dear Harry" letter to, of

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all people, Senator Byrd (D, Va.). And he has been doing what he can to restrain his sharp tongue. Eisenhower is Truman's strongest card in foreign affairs. Ike will, of course, recommend strengthening European forces; but the terrible cost of meeting the mobilization bill will test Truman's leadership almost past endurance.

A big blow-up is coming in price controls, maybe this week. Strong-man Wilson, mobilization director, is talking tough to his subordinates, Stabilization Director Valentine and Price Administrator Di Salle, and the latter may go. This column has steadily and patiently pointed out the appalling evidence of inflation; indeed the last six months of inventory hoarding, runaway prices, concentration of production on trivia like TV sets and unprecedented corporate profits is one of the most scandalous periods in our history. Why hasn't Truman stopped this? The most friendly explanation is that he was waiting for public opinion to catch up; we are also inclined to think the Administration just lacked the brains to know what to do. Now that phase is ending.

The American Government does not honestly represent the nation's liberal sentiment for a number of mechanical reasons. One of these is the rottenborough system by which state legislatures and representation in Congress are heavily weighted on the side of conservative farm-and-town districts in contrast to faster-growing liberal big cities. Truman now urges equitable Congressional redistricting on the basis of the 1950 census; almost certainly Congress will decline. The system of gypping city liberals will continue to distort our whole political pattern.

The Baltimore *Sun*, great liberal organ of past days, is soft-pedaling the shady story of how GOP candidate Butler with McCarthy's help defeated Senator Tydings; Butler married into the family of the *Sun's* owners. . . . The Administration is finally curbing Douglas MacArthur. . . . One hundred house members competed for two vacancies on Un-American Activities Committee; job carries enormous publicity.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Acheson and His Enemies

SIR: There are many serious and valid disagreements in this period of tension and conflict. Most of these concern the nature and extent of mobilization, the degree of sacrifice to be demanded, and the extent of the world's area to be defended. Still the majority of our people agree (1) that we should not abandon Korea and the United Nations effort there, and (2) that we should not abandon Western Europe with its tremendous reserve of industrial material and manpower to the Communists.

But, strangely enough, there seems also to be tacit agreement that America's official spokesman for these policies is to be smeared, attacked underhandedly and insulted openly. Why is Mr. Acheson in such an unenviable position? Is it because he has long urged us to avoid the very war with Communist China which now threatens? Is it that he has opposed the counsel of his Knowland-McCarthy critics who urge us to commit ourselves irrevocably to the support of Chiang and thereby guarantee the permanent enmity of the present rulers of China? Is it that we should heed those who call for a 20-year war for the reconquest of China? For myself, I violently disagree with such a course of action. Rather I agree with Secretary Acheson when he spoke on June 2, 1950, of the difficulty in the Far East because of the Communist efforts "to capitalize on the aspiration [of the Chinese people] for independence" and because of Communist promises to relieve "unfortunate economic conditions." "The essential bankruptcy of Communist dogma is sometimes not clearly apparent to people who live in misery and desperate circumstances"—those are the Secretary's words. . . .

I ask every critic of Mr. Acheson to present even ONE CONSTRUCTIVE ALTERNATIVE proposal which varies in any significant degree from the aim of Mr. Acheson to create "balanced collective forces" in the buildup of defensive strength of the North Atlantic area. (Testimony before Senate Foreign Relations Committee, June 2, 1950.) Among those of us who believe Europe *must* be held, what better plan, what more reliable spokesman do we have?

. . . What are the valid complaints? Until they are made known, I shall hope more people will voice their support of the beleaguered Secretary of State, Dean Acheson.

Cedar Falls, Iowa D. R. NORLAND

McCarthy and Capone

SIR: Harold Ickes' McCarthy-Capone article (*NR*, January 1, 1951) is a "honey." It is encouraging for us rooters in the bleachers to hear Mr. Ickes' booming voice coming through for our side from the grandstand, even though there seems to be a slim chance of our winning the pennant and carrying it in the foreseeable future.

New York City JESSE WEIL

Reader Opinion

SIR: I enjoy your editorials and articles immensely—particularly those on international affairs. They reflect careful reporting and sound judgment and a quality of observation and opinion that I can always rely upon. Being a history major at Central State College in Edmond, I possibly appreciate your interpretations and analyses more than otherwise. especially like Washington Wire and Harold Ickes' columns.

JOHN WENDELL SIMMONS

Edmond, Okla.

In Defense of McClellan

SIR: Much as I like Harold L. Ickes' forthright expressions of opinion, and respect him as a man of great courage, I must take issue with him in his opening remarks in "MacArthur Home for Christmas" (*NR*, December 25, 1950). It is in defense not of MacArthur but of McClellan that I raise my voice.

McClellan had nothing whatsoever to do with First Manassas, or Bull Run. He was winning victories in West Virginia in 1861; and Second Manassas, or Bull Run of 1862, occurred after McClellan had been removed and John Pope put in his place as chief commander of a disgruntled Union Army. . . .

There is, however, one startling similarity between Big and Little Mac (*i.e.* MacArthur and McClellan). They both had the faculty of magnifying the strength of their opponents. MacArthur talks in millions, whereas McClellan, in the more modest tempo of his day, was confronted by the spectre of never more than 100,000 Confederate troops. Actually, of course, Lee never at any one time mustered that many effectives. . . .

Scarsdale, N. Y. J. J. FRANK

Congressional Immunity

SIR: It is not too early in the 82nd Congress to promote one of the most sensible ideas brought forth in a long time. Senator Hunt (D, Wyo.) proposes to end the immunity of Congressmen from libel suits for what they say on the floor. Let us encourage such action.

Washington GERALD ARNOLD

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VOLUME 124, NUMBER 4, ISSUE 1886, WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 22, 1951

New Republic

THE DECISION IN KOREA

CONFUSION and hysteria concerning our position in Korea are spreading. News reporters and columnists state flatly that we are withdrawing from Korea. But President Truman has said that we are not going to withdraw. General Ridgeway and General Collins have announced that we aim to stay. And there is nothing in the events so far that indicates any intention of withdrawal.

The Tenth Marine Corps was removed from Hungnam and taken to South Korea. If withdrawal were contemplated, they would have been returned to Japan. Since the Corps has not rejoined the Eighth Army, it seems reasonable to suppose that these Marines are being refitted and readied for a counter-offensive.

While this was being accomplished, the Eighth Army, which was not strong enough to maintain its position by itself or to mount a counter-offensive, had the choice of fighting delaying actions down the peninsula or breaking contact with the Chinese and Korean Communists and retreating. The latter choice was made. Our forces have the greater road mobility; the Communist forces have superior cross-country mobility. The casualties might have been very heavy in fighting a delaying action; they have been negligible during this withdrawal. Whenever contact with the Chinese and North Koreans has occurred, our forces have been gone by the time they deployed for the attack.

The terrain in North Korea and northern South Korea is unfavorable for our weapons and equipment. It is a succession of knife-like ridges and narrow valleys, with roads running north and south. Only mountain divisions can maneuver effectively on such ground. Heavily equipped divisions, such as ours, need open space and good lateral communication for maneuvering. It seems likely that preparations are under way on such ground somewhere in South Korea for a stand or a counter-offensive. The imposition of censorship at this time is reminiscent of the censorship before the Inchon landing. With the Tenth Corps as a spearhead, there may be a chance to set the enemy back or even to win a decisive victory.

Assuming that we have the choice of remaining or withdrawing from Korea, should we withdraw? One group is arguing that we should remove our forces from Korea and embark on an alternative policy of "limited war" against China. They want the US to promote the re-entry of Chiang Kai-shek on to the mainland, to blockade the entire China coast and engage in "selective bombing" of her ports and military depots. Such a course would surely turn the Chinese people against us and aid the Chinese Communists in unifying the country behind their leadership.

But the belief that we should withdraw from Korea is shared by others who hold no such dangerous notion of counter-action.

Walter Lippmann has offered the curious theory that to surrender in Korea and retreat to Japan would place us in a stronger position to negotiate with Communist China. But Trygve Lie states that withdrawal will end the influence of the United Nations.

Other critics of our present policy argue that we should withdraw from Korea in order to strengthen Europe immediately. But would withdrawal make it possible to strengthen Europe? Japan is being defended in Korea. If Korea is abandoned, Japan becomes vulnerable, and roughly the same forces would be required there. Military experts think it unlikely that we could not safely withdraw more than one of the divisions now stationed in the Far East from the Japanese garrison.

Korea, it is being said, is no longer worth the price we are paying to hold it. We are not able to fulfill our mission there, some argue, and we should therefore accept the campaign as lost, stop the terrible loss of lives, and leave. Korea is of no strategic importance in a general war with the principal theater in Europe. But it is of overwhelming moral importance in the present war. United Nations forces entered Korea to stop an unprovoked aggression. If the aggressor is rewarded by success, it is unlikely that any future aggression can ever be halted by the United Nations, and hope of an honest and permanent settlement with China may be lost.

In the event that the honorable basis for negotiation contained in the UN cease-fire proposal should be rejected, the expectation must be that China will continue

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her admitted drive to collect satellites. Hongkong, Indo-China and the other states of Southeast Asia are being defended in Korea. Assuming that the UN Army can hold in Korea with no greater forces than are now involved, we may have an opportunity to reverse the previous position in which most of our disposable troops were occupied by a limited force of North Koreans. It may now be possible for us to tie down large numbers of Chinese in Korea with a relatively small effort on our part. The drain on the limited Chinese supply of weapons and ammunition would be even more important than the drain on manpower in deflecting Chinese-Communist armies from Southeast Asia.

Some military men believe that by intelligent use of South Korean manpower we could pursue this strategy and at the same time gradually withdraw our own ground forces. In the hopeful days when the Korean War seemed about concluded, there did not appear to be time to arm and train the South Koreans to fight their own battle. The population of 21 million could provide two million armed men which, if the United Nations left cadres and leaders behind and furnished air and naval support, might in time conduct their own defense.

There still may be the opportunity to decide whether we should voluntarily withdraw from Korea. All aspects should be carefully weighed: the effect on the United Nations, our bargaining position, the position of our Allies, the future of Southeast Asia, the requirements of Europe, our sacrifices and what awaits the South Koreans if we leave. It is a difficult and fateful decision. It may be made for us by military necessity. We must not forfeit it from weariness or from the frustration of defeat.

THE WEEK

STATE OF THE ECONOMY

In his annual Economic Report and his Budget Message to the Congress, President Truman has outlined the kind of material life Americans can expect to live in 1951. This year of preparing for defense will be one in which all of us "must work harder, reduce consumption, and forego improvements in farm, business and household equipment." And "all economic groups must pay much higher taxes."

Despite the stern message of sacrifice and danger, the tone of these two communications to the new Congress is forward looking and confident. In the past, his Economic Report reminds us, "We have risen to our greatest heights in the face of our greatest danger." The outlook for 1951 is that our annual rate of total output will climb seven percent above the level at the end of this year. The President sets as the goal toward which "we must plan and work together" that of increasing "the total productive strength of our economy by at least 25 percent within the next five years."

"We have not reached, and cannot foresee reaching, any final ceiling on our productive power." But, he goes on, "The character of our economy must now be changed rapidly to meet the new challenge. . . . The part of our total national output going into defense should rise from seven percent to nearly 18 percent during 1951. By the end of the year, the expanding defense program may be absorbing one-third or more of some basic material." The consequent cut in consumer-goods production and the increase in total wages brought about by additions to the labor force will cause inflationary pressure to "rise by many billions of dollars."

The President's Budget Message shows an anticipated gap of $15 billion between federal revenues and expenditures in the next fiscal year. Mr. Truman's special Tax Message will suggest ways of raising that amount immediately. The Congress will most likely refuse to take such drastic steps. Direct controls on production, prices and wages therefore become doubly urgent. The President wisely states that "neither price action nor wage action can be decided upon in isolation" and that "it would be impossible to achieve lasting wage stabilization without holding the line on the cost of living." But he offers no explanation for his calamitous delay in creating the machinery for stabilization. There can be no excuse for further inaction in the face of these facts.

ONE-MAN CRUSADE

LINCOLN, NEBR. (NR correspondent)

Gov. Val Peterson of Nebraska has threatened to use martial law in his crusade against Nebraska Communists, who most observers believe total no more than 25, if that many. But the Republican Governor is getting his wrists sharply slapped by usually sympathetic friends.

Peterson started out by casually mentioning in an off-the-cuff speech to his civil-defense advisory committee that he was having a list of Communists and "left-wingers" prepared for him by the state highway patrol.

The Governor said he would root out the Reds in "key" positions in the state "by hook or crook" and added he would "declare martial law" if necessary. Pressed for details, the Governor said he knew of "at least one man" in the transportation industry who was a Communist and said that he planned to talk to the man's employer about getting him fired.

Peterson said the FBI hadn't seen fit to turn its list of Nebraska Communists over to him, and that's why he was going ahead on his own. He told newsmen that *he* would have to be the judge of the state safety-patrol's qualifications for

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compiling a list of subversives. Even the Lincoln *State Journal*, which had friendly words for Senator McCarthy last spring, exploded at this. The Republican editor snapped: "Since when and under what law have Nebraskans ever intended to authorize use of the safety patrol as the Governor's personal secret police?" Calling Peterson "arrogant," the *Journal* said:

> There are many forms of sabotage. And one way to sabotage democracy and freedom is to talk recklessly of one-man action in brushing rights and freedom aside to enforce one man's suspicion.

LAST CHANCE ON KOREA

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. (NR correspondent)

The United States last week greatly narrowed the gap that has been developing between itself and most of the other members of the democratic bloc in the United Nations. We agreed to the new proposal of the UN cease-fire committee seeking to end the fighting in Korea. We have now promised, if a cease-fire is effected, to sit down at the council table with Communist China, Russia and Great Britain, and to discuss all outstanding questions in the Far East, including the future of Formosa and possible membership by the Peking Government in the UN.

Our spokesmen at the UN insist that this represents no important change in American policy; but it is so regarded by other delegates, who were as pleased as they were startled by the American concession.

The new proposal, which was worked out at the British Commonwealth Conference in London, has five stages: a cease-fire, efforts to find a basis for peace, all non-Korean fighting forces to be withdrawn in gradual stages; the setting up of an interim administration for Korea, and the four-power conference already mentioned. A few other countries might be included: France, for one, feels that she should be represented.

The Americans asked that the Peking Government should reply within a specified length of time, but this stipulation was not included.

The new proposal was immediately denounced on behalf of Soviet Russia by Jacob Malik, who went through the customary dreary rigamarole of lies about the Korean situation. If his attitude proves to be the official line of the Communist bloc, and the whole effort fails, the United States will renew, more firmly than ever, the demand that the UN should formally declare Communist China an aggressor and apply both economic and political sanctions. Our acceptance of the latest cease-fire plan has substantially increased the likelihood that a majority of the UN members will now be willing to take these steps. Until a few days ago it was highly doubtful that two-thirds of the UN membership would vote for labeling the Peking Government an aggressor, and still less likely that economic and political sanctions would be applied. Now, however, the moral gap between the United States and the UN majority has been decreased to a marked degree.

APATHY ON THE RHINE

One fact dominates the discussion on German rearmament now being held at Bonn—the Germans don't want to fight, have nothing they want to arm for, and are daily growing more hostile to American attempts to rally them against threats from the East. Every time US spokesmen have mentioned German rearmament in the past months, more "Go Home, Ami" slogans have appeared on walls all over Germany. Traditionally pro-Western elements have balked at the prospect of military sacrifices and possible war and have retreated into hostile indifference. There is no left-of-center group in Germany today which supports anything approaching the US program for rearmament. The Socialists have been riding high on the wave of crypto-defeatism and see no reason why they should take an unpopular stand. Konrad Adenauer's government is losing support steadily and may become powerless to administer any military agreement it may sign.

US policy toward Germany has been based on a misconception of how badly the Germans wanted an army. Our attempts to build up a fighting spirit have flopped badly, partly because of the diplomatic and military reverses the West has met elsewhere, partly because progress toward Western European unity has not kept pace.

Allied concessions to German independence, granted far ahead of schedule, have only served to strengthen the hands of the extreme Rightist nationalists, who sneer at the polite squeeze-play by which Adenauer has been gradually exacting concessions from the West; they demand complete independence and would as soon achieve their purpose by a deal with Stalin.

The Socialists' opposition to rearmament is based on their historical fear that the growth of a military nucleus means a diminution of workers' strength. If Germany had an army, they reason, a Rightist government would have troops to break strikes. Yet the Socialist leaders, aware that the present vacuum cannot last forever, have not committed themselves definitely. Kurt Schumacher has at various times stood at almost all points in the rearmament rainbow. On one occasion last year he called for an "offensive position" on the Vistula; at other times he has courted the outright pacifism which dominates the thinking of large parts of his following.

The German reaction, coupled with continued West European opposition, has served to slow the momentum of the arm-Germany drive—to a walk at Brussels, and to a complete standstill at the meetings now being held in Bonn. At Brussels, the West announced that it would "explore" the question; at last week's meetings in Bonn there was a fruitless stalemate with neither the Germans nor the Allies willing to propose the first concrete steps.

The US dilemma is dominated by a growing realization, supported by all German opinion polls, that the rearmament drive has badly backfired and that policy toward Germany is in need of extensive review. The Spofford plan for "integrated divisions" is not enough. A European army must represent more than a papier-maché general staff. There is no one sure-fire formula for success—but for the great masses of wary, distrustful Germans only the creation of a new dynamic West European union can elicit the sacrifices for which the Atlantic strategists have been vainly calling.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

There is an old Roman saying that has been repeated to many generations of tourists. It is: what the barbarians did not do, the Barberini did. The doing was the destruction of some of the finest remains of ancient Rome. The Barberini were among the princely and papal families who built their palaces of travertine and marble wantonly quarried from the Coliseum, the temples of the Forum, the basilicas and baths of the Emperors.

Tourists in Rome this year are hearing a bitter variant of the old saying. It is: what the Fascists could not do, the Americans are doing for them. And it came into circulation when Rome's new ultra-modern Termini, the central railroad station, was formally opened a few days before the end of the Holy Year. The point is that the structure, planned and started by Benito Mussolini in 1938 when he was trying to keep pace with Adolf Hitler's "thousand-year Reich," could be brought to completion only through the help of ECA funds from the United States.

The Americans had nothing to do with the design of the station. But the Romans say it looks American; and, in fact, it certainly has more architectural relation to Rockefeller Center and the UN buildings on the East River than to any of the many Roman styles, even to the Teutonic functional with which the Fascists made monstrous monuments to their cardboard empire.

The main building is a glaringly white, brutally simple and unadorned rectangular block, 90 feet high, 750 feet broad, with nine strips of glass extending horizontally the entire width of the façade. A huge, sectioned marquee juts upward and outward from the first floor, along two-thirds of the width of the building; this the Romans are already calling "the dinosaur." The other third of the façade gives out, in startling contrast, on the ruins of the ancient Roman Servian wall. The new station covers an area of 50 acres, cost something like $50 million, and faces a square covering 80,000 square yards—well over twice the expanse of St. Peter's Square. Underneath this vast open space is a network of walks not unlike those stretching from Grand Central or the RCA Building, but hitherto unknown anywhere in Europe. Soon this will also be the scene of a main station of the subway which Mussolini started to build.

The station itself, however, is not the only reason for the spread of the new variant of the old saying. What the Fascists failed to do for themselves may be done for the neo-Fascists, at least partly, (and only partly unwittingly) through American help. Mario Ferrara writes in the Liberal weekly *Il Mundo*, probably the most intelligent publication in Italy, that:

> All democratic states which have unhappily had to build on the ruins of the military defeat of a dictatorship are bound to go through a period of crisis, and this is the period which Italy is about to go through. It is a critical moment. The attack is going to be fierce, and every moment of weakness or weariness will be of use to the adversary. The hour of democratic defense has sounded for Italy. In France it bore the name of President MacMahon before and after the Dreyfus affair. We do not know what name history will give this crisis of ours. At the moment it is called the MSI crisis, but this is only a sham name.

(MSI, *Movimento Sociale Italiano*, is the neo-Fascist movement.)

It is unfortunate that the American Government let American taxpayers' money be used to complete an edifice more appropriate for the capital of a Fascist (or neo-Fascist) empire than for the seat of an Italian Government which has not yet built cheap houses for hundreds of thousands of poor citizens, or taken serious and practical steps to cope with the problems of land reform and glaring social injustice. The sight of the new Termini station can be invoked by the Communists to justify their argument that it is only in the ranks of their Fifth Column that Italians can resist the trend toward revived Fascism.

But it would be tragic if the American Government were to let impatience with the slowness of Italy's progress toward military preparation dictate a willingness to give a green light to the Fascist Fifth Column. The reason is not only that a Fascist Italy would be undemocratic, nor that the rise of such an Italy threatens precisely the kind of open civil war of which the Soviets might take advantage.

With American help, a Fascist regime might on the one hand retain the superficial forms of democratic process and on the other hand succeed in defeating the Communists by preventive repression on a large and brutal scale. The fact which makes American support, open or covert, for neo-Fascism the height of folly is that both the leaders and the masses of neo-Fascism are only slightly more anti-Soviet than they are anti-British and anti-American. Their own secret — but nonetheless deeply felt—version of the old saying is: what the Fascists could not do "to free Italy from the enslaving domination of the Anglo-Saxons" they, the neo-Fascists, will be able to do, once they are armed and equipped by the very persons who are the deepest enemies—the English and the Americans.

In the domestic political pattern, the neo-Fascists (and the Monarchists who are moving toward an alliance with them) are of course anti-Communist, but it is in terms of a struggle for power rather than in terms of principle—and certainly not any kind of democratic principle. In the international pattern, however, their real enemies are the countries which brought about the downfall of their (first) effort to create Great Italy —the English and the Americans, not the Russians.

It should not be forgotten in Washington or at General Eisenhower's headquarters that the Italians have a record of changing sides in wars, and that support for neo-Fascism would be support for precisely those Italians who are thinking of how to use the Anglo-Saxons now to get revenge against the recent "Anglo-Saxon war crimes against Fascist Italy."

PERCY WINNER

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CHRISTIANITY IN RED CHINA

by Leonard Constantine

AFTER the "liberation" all Chinese industries were told to carry on as usual under the old management. Capitalists who had fled to Hongkong were encouraged to return. But the first policy of the New Democracy was one of heavy and crushing taxation. Many different taxes were demanded from all businesses, quite unreasonable in amount and in many cases far beyond their ability to pay. As soon as these taxes had been paid and businessmen were hoping for a breathing space, the drive for victory bonds started; and again businessmen were compelled to sell their assets in order to subscribe their quota. It seemed as though the Communists regarded industry and commerce as a cow which could be milked incessantly.

Suddenly a change of policy was announced. The capitalists have been given a breathing space. The reason for this may be twofold. First, the Communists probably realize that their earlier policy was too severe and that trade was being strangled. The second reason may be psychological: that it is good policy to give capitalists a crack of the whip and then ease up so that they may feel thankful for small mercies.

The utter stagnation of trade, which has continued since liberation, was partly due to causes outside the control of the Communists. But it was greatly aggravated by the actions of the government. Peasants hid their grain and refused to plant seed or to bring their produce to sell in the city. The Communists set out to redistribute industry, in particular to reduce the importance of Shanghai by moving industry to the North. Unemployment and starvation there were excellent weapons to force the workers to change their abode. Many businesses, especially restaurants, hotels, department stores and those which sell luxury goods have either had to close or to find alternative wares to sell.

The policy toward private enterprise is described as a "mutual benefit policy" for workers and capitalists. Workers who expected the Communists to support them in demanding wage increases and shorter hours have been disappointed. The emphasis is not on higher wages or shorter hours but on increased production. In state industry the worker is called the master. In Chinese private industry he has a double position—he is still being exploited by the capitalist, but he is the master in society. Workers' rights are defined as the right to participate in labor unions and all political movements, and the right to protest against unfair treatment. Labor must observe all factory rules and regulations. The capitalist has the right to employ and to discharge. But in practice it works out that the union and not the employer actually hires and fires workers.

An elaborate machinery is provided for settling disputes, as strikes are illegal in both state and private enterprise. Labor unions are organized round the factory and not on the basis of the individual trade. Each factory has its union, which in turn belongs to the city organization, and through that to the national organization of labor unions. In the factory all on the management side are eligible for membership, only the actual owners being excluded. While in private industry the union has the right to participate in management, state industry is regarded as already belonging to the people and the rights of the unions are very limited.

Is there a future for private enterprise? Definitely yes, according to the New Democracy, and the Communists say the period of the New Democracy may last from 30 to 50 years.

Land reform is the first and most important economic reform to be carried out, and it is given first priority—the aim being to win the support of the peasants. The necessity for this cannot be questioned when, according to the Communists' figures, less than 10 percent of the people own more than 80 percent of the land, and the average rent works out at 50 percent of the produce. The first step has been to arouse the class-consciousness of the peasants, to establish peasant organizations and to reduce rent and interest. This was immediately carried out in all areas after liberation. Landowners had to pay heavy taxes and return to the peasants rents collected during the previous year. In many cases it was impossible for them to find the money for all this. They begged the government to take their land; they offered it as a free gift. But the government refused to accept it and insisted that they must retain the land and pay all the dues demanded. The peasants were encouraged to hold "accusation meetings" and expose the crimes of the landlords. Punishment was meted out to those found guilty, some of them being executed.

All this was preparatory to the main step—land division. This has already been carried out in the North

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This is the third of a series of articles on life inside Communist China. The fourth will deal with internal Communist propaganda, the condition of the press, censorship and life in the schools and colleges.

The author, who left China recently, taught history for nearly 20 years at Huachang University at Wuchang.

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in an area with a rural population of 145 million. There is still an area with a population of 264 million where it has not been carried out. In a large part of the country land division was to be enforced after the harvest of 1950. It is preceded by intense propaganda. Students are trained in the principles of land reform and then sent out into the country to explain it to the peasants and arouse their class-consciousness. An important principle is that the class status of the people must first be defined. The people are divided into five classes—landlords, rich peasants, middle peasants, poor peasants and farm laborers. The class to which one is assigned may be a matter of life or death. How happy the man is who escapes the landlord class and is called a rich peasant! Class status is determined by "democratic estimation" at village peasants' meetings. Each man names the class to which he thinks he belongs, and after public discussion the village meeting will make the decision.

Until 1949 the land of the rich peasant had been confiscated along with that of the landlord. Now he is to be protected and his land preserved. This change has been made because of the need for production and in order to neutralize the rich peasants. This is pure expediency, and when the time is ripe the rich peasant may expect the same treatment as the kulak in Russia.

Treatment of the churches. Wherever Communism triumphs the church finds itself in difficulties, for its teaching, with the Christian emphasis on the value of the individual and belief in unchanging moral standards, is opposed to the Communist view of life. But the church in China has special difficulties of its own in meeting the challenge of Communism. Introduced by Western missionaries, it has always maintained close contacts with England and America. Its financial support comes from the West. It was certain, therefore, to be suspect as an agent of Western imperialism. In pre-liberation days there was much talk of the church having to go underground and relive the days of the Roman Empire when Christians worshiped in the catacombs.

Chinese-Communists wood engravings: A village administrative office.

When the Communists took over any city, notices were immediately posted saying that church property must be respected and foreigners protected. It was soon discovered that this did not mean what it seems; it meant that the Communists would not use church property without first asking permission, but permission could not be withheld. Property has become a curse to the church. The big compounds, schools, colleges, hospitals, orphanages, etc., built in the great days of missionary enterprise, are now a burden, and some of them have been voluntarily and gladly handed over to the authorities.

Freedom of religion is the official attitude of the government, and is one of the freedoms guaranteed in the Common Program of the People's Republic, which is the Chinese Bill of Rights under the New Democracy. This, however, does not mean what it would naturally mean to a Westerner. It does not include the right to propagate one's faith or to teach it to children, nor does it necessarily mean the right to public worship. It means only that a man may have his private religious beliefs, and instances abound of interference with religious liberty. Sometimes sentries are posted at a church door and question worshipers as they enter. To invite children to attend Sunday school is "to force religion upon them." Religious services in primary or middle schools are now forbidden even though they are entirely voluntary. In one Christian middle school the Communist representative was asked if students might have a prayer meeting in their rooms. His answer was: "If two people gather together in a room for prayer, that is a meeting and is forbidden. Each student may pray alone in his own room." On the other hand there is freedom of anti-religious propaganda, which is dinned into children at school and in meetings. Conditions differ a great deal according to the attitude of local officials, and the church is having a much harder time in the country than in the cities.

When complaint is made about any of these things, the answer given is that while freedom of belief is guaranteed the church cannot expect the favored place in society it enjoys in the West. It is tolerated but dis-

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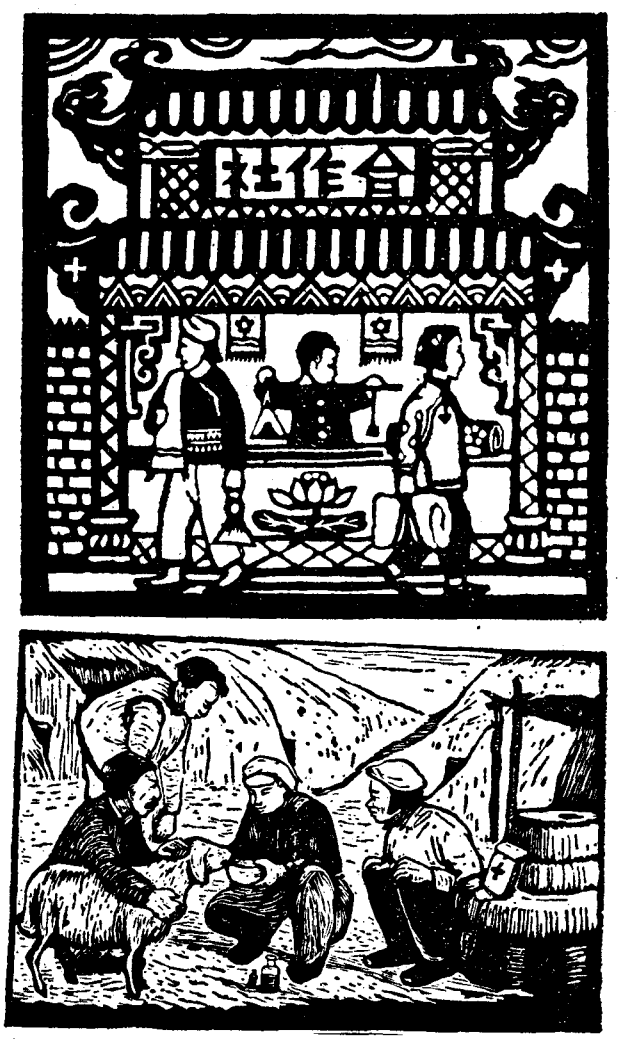
approved of. The church is regarded as an integral part of the capitalist system and will disappear with capitalism. So direct persecution of the church is unnecessary; when the economic order is changed the church will automatically wither away. Religion is merely the symptom of a disease, the reflection of a sick society. Communism attacks the disease itself.

How have Christians reacted to the challenge of Communism? Christians welcomed the new government just as did other groups, for they too were tired of the corruption and inefficiency of the Kuomintang. When Communist ideas filled the air, Christian thinking could not fail to be influenced by them. Preachers have stressed the similarities between Christianity and Communism—the way of service and sacrifice, the desire of both for a better social order, their faith in the common man, their belief in brotherhood and justice—and have urged that since both are working for the same ends, ideological differences should be forgotten. Some Christians go farther and argue that Jesus was a social revolutionary who established a proletarian religion which was seized and corrupted by the rulers of the Roman Empire and distorted for their own ends. Since then, they add, the church has been the tool of feudalism and capitalism. Missionaries brought to China their own capitalist brand of Christianity, but now Chinese Christians have the chance to overthrow this "false brand" of Christianity and re-establish the revolutionary, proletarian religion of Jesus.

The most extreme group is found in YMCA circles and in some of the Christian universities. Its leader, Dr. Y. T. Wu, a prominent YMCA worker, says it is possible to be both a Christian and a materialistic Communist. His argument, which he preaches with great vigor among young educated Christians, is "God is truth, truth is found in materialistic Communism, therefore in joining the Communists a man is worshiping truth, which is God." Dr. Wu describes his conversion experience of finding the Christian truth in Communism with all the fervor of a revivalist preacher. The small group of six or seven Christians which he leads supposedly represented the church on the People's Political Consultative Council held in the autumn of 1949. Since then they have taken it upon themselves to work out a policy for the whole church, and after a number of meetings with Chou En-lai, the Premier and Foreign Minister, they are trying, with his approval, to force it on the church. This policy is still in process of revision, but its main points are as follows:

The church must accept the New Democracy and the Common Program of the People's Government. It admits its past connection with imperialism, especially American imperialism, and will strive to awaken the church members to a realization of the evils of imperialism and capitalism. In principle, the church will discontinue the use of foreign personnel and foreign money, the carrying out of this to be worked out in consultation with the government. The church will become self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating. During the period of land reform the church will only hold its routine meetings, such as Sunday services, prayer meetings, vestry meetings, and will refrain from all other activities.

It is still uncertain what the final form of this manifesto will be. Most church leaders are reluctant to accept it as it stands, but it is being pressed as the only basis on which the government will allow the church to continue. Many government leaders urged a more radical policy toward the church and wanted the immediate withdrawal of all foreign missionaries, but Chou En-lai took a more moderate attitude in insisting only that missionaries should leave the country either when their furlough is due or when their passports have expired. It is envisaged that for a period of years no missionaries will be allowed to return to China. Then



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Top, a co-operative store. Bottom, a veterinarian among the peasants.

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a few might be allowed to return after careful screening by the authorities. Some leading Christians who originally were associated with this group have changed their attitude, coming to the conclusion that there is a fundamental conflict between Christianity and Marxism.

This conflict is taking place only in the higher circles of the church, among the leaders and intellectuals, and the average church member is unaffected by it. Puzzled and rather frightened, he finds in his simple faith a consolation amid the bewildering changes he is meeting. His faith has become for him a rock in a shifting, unstable world, and so in some places there has been an increase in church attendance. Unfortunately this increase is seen mainly among the fundamentalist and revivalist groups who completely separate religion from the life of society. Unable to come to terms with things as they are, they dwell exclusively on the future life and the return of Christ. When the Communists dogmatically assert that Labor created the world, the fundamentalists just as dogmatically assert that God created the world in six days according to the Genesis story. Those churches are in the most difficult position which believe that Christianity has something to say on social issues and which try to keep abreast of modern thought. During the war and postwar years the church met with great success among the student class; many were baptized, and a flourishing work was built up in government universities. It is here that the church is now suffering its greatest loss, for Communism is winning its greatest success among the students. Baptisms have ceased, and in government universities Christian work has come to a standstill.

Self-support for the church has become one of the most discussed problems of the day. How can the ministers find an alternative means of livelihood? In most places it is absolutely impossible for the churches to provide the funds to pay their workers. It would have been difficult under the best of circumstances; in these days of trade stagnation and high taxation it is wildly impossible. The church will be unable to pay the heavy taxes levied on its buildings or to pay for their upkeep, and is quite likely to become a church meeting in the houses of the members as in the earliest days of Christianity.

What is the future of the church in China? When we remember its short history, the smallness of its numbers, and the fact that Christianity has been planted before in China and then disappeared, undue optimism is out of place. Will the modern missionary movement meet the same fate as the Nestorian Church of the T'ang Dynasty, leaving only a few monuments as its memorial? Prophecy is dangerous, but certain facts are clear. It will become a smaller church, losing many of its present adherents. One prominent Chinese Christian has forecast that it will lose two-thirds of its membership and become a remnant of Israel. This would reduce the number of Protestant church members to about two hundred thousand. Numbers are not everything, and a handful of earnest, devoted Christians could work wonders, but it is difficult for them to keep their enthusiasm against the rising tide of Communism when their own numbers are shrinking. The church may have to give up its social and educational work. Already Christian hospitals are being taken over by the government, and it seems possible that Christian hospitals, schools, universities and charitable institutions may pass into their hands. The church will be cut off from contacts with the West, not only through the withdrawal of missionaries, but because Chinese Christians will not be permitted to take part in international activities of the church, such as the World Council of Churches. As one leader expressed it, "The Great Church in China is doomed."

PRAVDA—BETWEEN THE LINES

by Ernest J. Simmons

POINT BY POINT America's foreign-policy debate is followed by our people and argued over on every street corner. It is being followed, no less closely, by the peoples of the USSR who keep their thoughts to themselves.

Pravda, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, has reprinted in full the speeches of Herbert Hoover, Joseph Kennedy and Robert Taft. Its circulation is well over two million, and it serves as a model for the rest of the Soviet press. Local newspapers throughout the USSR reprint each day a substantial amount of *Pravda* material. *Pravda* and the Soviet press serve, in Stalin's words, as a transmission belt between the masses and the party."

The Soviet press rarely misses an opportunity to give full coverage to opposition views in the West. Any foreign manifestations of indecision or appeasement are eagerly seized on, for in essence they fit into the approved

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propaganda pattern of the Soviets. To heartening quotations from American isolationists, *Pravda* adds its editorial footnote that the US is not headed for voluntary isolation, but isolation enforced by the distrust held for the US by its allies.

Apart from the full treatment given to voices of dissension in the US, one is struck by the persistent understatement of crisis situations in foreign affairs and by what appears to be a resolute determination on the part of the Soviet press to avoid developing war hysteria among its people. In contrast to our own press, no mention is made of physical preparations for a future war save occasional references to the effect that the Soviet armed forces must be kept in the best possible condition for defense of the motherland. Of the 57 slogans announced by the party in honor of the thirty-third anniversary of the October Revolution, only two had anything to do with military matters: "Glory to the armed forces of the Soviet Union, standing guard over the peace and security of our motherland;" and "Long live the Soviet frontier guards, vigilant sentinels of the sacred frontiers of our motherland." It is noticeable that in the *Pravda* report of President Truman's "atom-bomb" press conference of November 30 no reference at all is made to his comment on the bomb. In fact, of late the atom bomb seems to have pretty much disappeared from the Soviet press. This whole treatment, climaxed by the prevailing message in the Soviet press at the end of 1950 that war is not inevitable in a world peopled by men of good will, is entirely in keeping with the persistent propaganda line designed to prove that the United States and the West are fomenters of war and the Soviet Union a bulwark of peace.

Yet there is evidence in the Soviet press, since the Korean War, of the creation of a psychological climate of hatred among the Soviet people. This use of the dual propaganda of hate and peace as an important instrument in the international game of power politics appears to be solidly based on the conviction of Soviet leaders that political behavior is the result of a conflict of forces rather than of reason. Their appeal is primarily to world forces discontented with the status quo, in which an effort is made to mold them into effective supports of Communist expansion. This propaganda not only identifies the "warmongers" as enemies of world peace, but also as opponents of "social justice" for the underprivileged everywhere.

For example, in a recent article in *Voprosy Filosofii*, there is an enlightening revelation of the thinking behind both Soviet political policy and the propaganda that helps to sustain it. Modern war, says the author, cannot be carried on without large armies, despite the fantastic schemes of the advocates of "mechanized war" who claim that warfare today "can be conducted by a very small number of selected scoundrels. . . . Modern war," the author states, "is a war of motors, of the highest technical skill and equipment. . . . War requires millions of men, both to operate the machinery, the weapons of destruction, and to produce them in a steady stream."

The author of this Soviet article then goes on to describe how the "Anglo-American aspirants to world domination," having lost the cold war, are allocating tremendous sums in a vast propaganda drive to poison the minds of people the world over. "But money cannot achieve the main things," writes the author. "It does not give and cannot provide what the imperialists lack—a successful ideological offensive: ideas that can hold the masses." In contrast, the writer concludes, "the Communist parties throughout the world, voicing the vital interests of the broad masses of the people, put prime emphasis everywhere upon organizing the struggle against the warmongers."

Hatred for America is now becoming an important theme in this ideological struggle. Its expression since the outbreak of the Korean War has assumed a virulent and seemingly personal tone in the atrocity stories charged against Americans which appear almost daily in the Soviet press. Formerly, Soviet propagandists had been careful to distinguish between rank-and-file Americans and Wall Street and government officials, whom they hold responsible for "planning" a third world war. Now these rank-and-file Americans, in the persons of our soldiers, are violently attacked as "murderers," "bloody executioners" and "rapists." Some notion of the extremes of this effort to whip up hatred against America may be obtained from a recent *Pravda* article by the foremost Soviet novelist, Mikhail Sholokhov, who writes:

> When Truman was elected Vice President of the USA, the photographers asked him to pose for a photograph in front of a microphone. "Margaret," said Truman to his daughter, "bring Mother with you, they want to snap us once again." An idyllic picture, it must be admitted! But here is another taken on a frontline film: on Korean soil lies a young Korean mother mutilated by the fragments of a Truman bomb. Her clothing is bloodstained. At her breast lies her orphaned baby. I suppose that the "gentleman from Missouri" would not shut his eyes for a moment and imagine his wife lying on the ground on her back, dead, with the tiny Margaret at her dead breast. This is beyond his understanding; it is accessible only to a human being.

As the organ of world Communism, *Pravda's* words are directed also to Communists in other countries. *Pravda's* recent treatment of the Korean War suggests that many of its accounts may be intended more for Chinese than for Soviet ears.

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On December 2, for instance, a New York *Tass* dispatch of November 30 appeared in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* under the title "American Press on Reaction in the USA to Events in Korea." It consists of a series of quotations from various American correspondents describing the national bewilderment and dismay over the sudden reverses in Korea.

The next day, on the very same page of *Pravda*, a piece appeared under the caption, "American Press on Defeat of American Troops in Korea," signed by the familiar "Observer." This article repeats the *Tass* dispatch of the previous day. The same excerpts from the same American correspondents are quoted in the same order. However, there is some significant difference. Two brief passages of the *Tass* dispatch deleted in the "Observer" account, and some 13 additions are included.

Such a procedure for *Pravda* is hardly the miscalculation of a tired editor. Accordingly the difference between these two accounts may be worth dwelling upon as possible reflections of a sudden party change of mind. To be sure, the evidence depends largely upon quotations from foreign correspondents. But this is a customary device of the controlled Soviet press in conveying official policy, and in this case one has the added advantage of being able to observe in operation the deliberate selection and rejection of material designed to create a particular impression.

The first collection of quotations tells the story of a successful advance in force of "North Korean troops and Chinese volunteers." Everything is omitted that would give the impression that the offensive was a deliberate planned effort of the Chinese Government, and nowhere in the quotations is there any mention of Russia.

In the second account the passage including a mention of "Chinese volunteers" is deleted, whereas additional quotations now leave no doubt that the offensive is an official action of the Chinese Government. Significant in the additions to the second account are passages that introduce mention of Russia. In several bits of editorializing and in added quotations, the Soviet Union is closely linked with possible future consequences growing out of the Chinese offensive, a factor which was pointedly omitted in the first account. For example, the second account adds a long continuation of a quotation printed in the initial *Tass* dispatch from David Lawrence's column in the New York *Herald-Tribune* which ends (as quoted from the translation in the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*):

". . . A shift toward appeasement in our foreign policy is taking place for the simple reason that, while we possess the means to fight the North Koreans, we do not have enough reserves of manpower to wage war against the Chinese Communists and their Russian allies in Siberia." Immediately following this the "Observer" adds: "But if the attempt to conclude a negotiated settlement fails, concludes Lawrence, and the Chinese insist on complete evacuation of the Americans from Korea, the USA will help the 'Chinese Nationalists' to land their army of 300,000 on the continent to fight the Communists."

This curious handling of the Chinese offensive in these two separate but closely-related accounts in *Pravda* provokes speculation. The pointed change in the second account may have been intended more for the information of the Chinese leaders than for the Soviet people, which would lend support to recent rumors that the Chinese are acting more independently in the Far East than their Soviet ally desires.

Certain differences in the two accounts suggest that the Soviets were not fully informed by the Chinese of the extent and ultimate intentions of the offensive, a conjecture clearly reflected in the first *Pravda* story about the old fiction of "Chinese volunteers," and in the patent Soviet failure to appraise at first the magnitude of the offensive in terms of themselves and the international situation. The second account, obviously based on additional information and a deeper awareness of the true significance of the offensive, suggests an eagerness on the part of the Russians to associate themselves with both the event and its anticipated victory, and at the same time to indicate to the Chinese leaders the danger of pursuing such a course of action without the full knowledge and support of the Soviet Union.

For example, in the second account a single sentence has been slipped into a paraphrase—common to both pieces—of an American correspondent: "American officials themselves see little to be gained by this course of action (building up a new defense line in Korea in preparation for an all-out war with the Chinese), for defeating China would not solve the problem of world Communism centering in Russia." This interpolation in the second account, as well as the very pointed one quoted from Mr. Lawrence above, seem like deliberate warnings to the Chinese leaders and forceful reminders of Russia's dominant position in the Communist world. And the puzzling Peking release, a little more than three weeks after this second *Pravda* article, should perhaps be regarded as a Chinese sequel to it, for it stresses the fact that the Chinese leaders fully recognize that the center of gravity in today's conflict is in Western Europe whose resources, when they are added to those of Russia, will decisively tip the world balance to the Communist side.

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AMERICA'S NEWEST DIPLOMAT

by Dale Kramer

A DIPLOMAT, according to Webster's dictionary, is one skilled in international diplomacy; one having tact and address. Judged on experience in formal diplomacy, Mrs. Edith S. Sampson, first Negro member of the US mission to the United Nations, is a rank amateur. But in tact and address she has been a quiet sensation since taking her seat as an alternate delegate in September.

Tact is something in which Mrs. Sampson was widely experienced before assuming her new role. No one moves up on Chicago's hard-bitten South Side, as she did, from social worker to probation officer to successful trial attorney, without a thorough working knowledge of human relations. While recognizing the high honor of President Truman's selection of her for an important world diplomatic post, she realized that her contribution would have to come out of her own background. Consequently, she remains frank and down to earth.

Putting a finger to a brown cheek, she said matter-of-factly not long ago, "The color of this is the reason I'm so busy out here at Lake Success." Though aware of the figures, she hadn't quite realized until she made a round-the-world trip last year that the skins of two-thirds of the world's inhabitants are colored. Now she isn't surprised that many representatives of the colored people find it easier to talk over their problems with her than with white delegates. Much preliminary work is done outside the official sessions, and her social invitations are more numerous than are those of most delegation members. In addition, she has been holding informal luncheons at Lake Success to thrash over problems.

On the formal assignments given her, one concrete achievement was her presentation of the case against radio jamming in the third committee of the General Assembly. A resolution was passed condemning such interference as a violation of the principles of freedom of information previously adopted. While no nation was mentioned by name, the move was obviously intended to discourage the Soviet Union from continuing its jamming of broadcasts from outside its borders.

Since much of Mrs. Sampson's life has been spent in trying to straighten out the personal problems of others, she considers perhaps her most pressing assignment that of trying to effect the release of prisoners of war, most of whom are Japanese held in the Soviet Union. She puts the number at 370,000, which add up to enough family problems to stagger anyone. She has been speaking to the wives and mothers of some of these prisoners over the Voice of America, and when she does so, conscientiously scans the speech prepared by her advisers for facts she may not already have, then tosses the paper aside and, as she says, "speaks from the heart." Afterwards, as a novice in broadcasting, she offers to hold herself in readiness to do it over if the Voice of America technicians think it hasn't come across all right. They are more than pleased with her work.

The fast pace Mrs. Sampson has set for herself reaches its peak sometime between midnight and three o'clock in the morning, while she is lying in bed thinking over the events of the day and planning for the next. Only after the midnight oil has begun to burn is she able to find time for concentrated thinking.

No matter what time she gets her thought agenda cleared away and is asleep, she is up by 7 a.m. in her suite in the Vanderbilt Hotel at Manhattan's Park Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street. By 8:30 she is at the US mission headquarters in a nearby office building for an initial glance at her mail. There is a delegation meeting at 9:15, followed by sessions with technical advisers. By noon she is usually on her way to Lake Success or Flushing Meadows, where plenary sessions are held. Later in the afternoon she dictates, and after that come social functions or informal conversations.

As many addresses as she can possibly make are fitted into her schedule, for she is in heavy demand. At the recent New York *Herald-Tribune* forum she made a typical address, reducing world problems to a level of easy understanding. "I conclude," she said, "that world security is just a big, wrap-up term to express the individual, local and national concerns of a billion and a half human beings."

With her strong and warm presence and resonant voice, Mrs. Sampson is an effective speaker, but it was only fairly recently that she overcame stage fright. As an attorney, she had usually waived a jury trial, feeling more confident when directing herself to one person. When called on to read a paper to a women's or civic group, there was, she admits, some shaking of her knees and the paper.

The change came during the 72-day journey she made last year as a member of the World Town Hall Seminar, which visited 14 world capitals and stopped off at many other points. The group, organized by George V. Denny Jr., moderator of the Town Meeting of the Air, contained representatives of 28 national organizations.

Dale Kramer is the author of a recent biography of Heywood Broun and is now working on a book about Harold Ross of the "New Yorker."

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Mrs. Sampson represented the National Council of Negro Women, of whose executive committee she was chairman. Since the organization lacked the required funds to pay her expenses, she dug down into her own savings for $5,000 to meet them. In Karachi she had a chance to be reimbursed: the Pakistan Women's League presented her with a purse of an equal sum. But in what Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, later called an extraordinary piece of gracious diplomacy, she promptly gave it back for the league's work.

Rubbing elbows with people from such diverse walks of life was looked upon by Mrs. Sampson as a valuable experience in human relations. The group atmosphere, as a matter of fact, was hearty enough so that Mayor de Lesseps Morrison of New Orleans, representing the American Municipal Association on the tour, invited Mrs. Sampson to visit his home if she ever got down his way. But more than anything else, she was impressed with what she learned about the world's people and their problems. She went everywhere, talked with all kinds and types, and concluded that she could tell them something about America and democracy. When put before a microphone all her stage fright disappeared.

Mrs. Sampson was elected president of the Seminar, for the Town Hall groups, and after returning home, she set out on a nationwide speaking tour. Between the concern over world affairs she found in this country—55 percent of her audiences were white—and that of the peoples of other lands, she began to doubt that she would ever return to her lawyer's desk. When an aide of President Truman telephoned her in Boston, where she was filling a platform engagement, and inquired whether she would accept a place in the US mission to the UN, she didn't give a thought to whether a bit of coyness was proper etiquette. She consented at once. She knew that it would be all right with her husband, Joseph E. Clayton, a Chicago attorney.

Mrs. Sampson was able to assume at once a schedule which would be back-breaking for most others for the reason that long ago a double work day had become part of her pattern of life. The pattern, as a matter of fact, was an integral part of the Pittsburgh home of her parents. Her mother became a milliner to supplement the salary of her husband, a shipping clerk in a cleaning and dyeing establishment. But that was not sufficient for the education of their eight children. Consequently Edith had to earn a part of her school expenses.

After attending the New York School of Social Work, she married and went to Chicago, where she got a job making a survey of South-Side conditions for the YWCA. At the same time, she continued her social-work education at the University of Chicago. Later, she attended night sessions of the John Marshall Law School and worked in the daytime as a probation officer for the Juvenile Court of Cook County. Her job was to investigate cases of neglected children, juvenile crimes and the like. She went on to receive the only master of law degree ever awarded a woman by the graduate school of Loyola University. She was licensed to practice law in Illinois in 1927 and in 1934 was admitted to practice before the US Supreme Court.

As social worker, probation investigator and attorney, mostly in criminal and domestic-relations cases, Mrs. Sampson knew all the sordid, economic oppression of Chicago's South Side. But her experience convinced her that, once in court, the Negro got the same kind of justice as anybody else—at least in the North. Her education had all been in schools where most of the students were white, and the fact that she had suffered no bitter experiences helped convince her that racial equality in the United States can be achieved gradually.

In India, while on her world tour, she summed up her views in answer to a question as to whether Negroes have equal rights in America:

> My answer is no, we do not have equal rights in all parts of the United States. But let's remember that 85 years ago Negroes in America were slaves and were 100 percent illiterate. And the record shows that the Negro has advanced further in this period than any similar group in the entire world. . . .
>
> Does this mean that I am satisfied? Or that Negroes in the United States are satisfied? No, not by a long shot! We will never be satisfied until racial barriers are lifted, and we have full and complete integration. But we know that, under a democracy, we have freedom and opportunity to *better* existing conditions.

Mrs. Sampson was appointed, of course, to represent the whole United States at the UN, not merely the Negroes of the population. Yet, she bears the added burden of the expectation by a large number of Negroes that somehow she must serve as an advocate of her race, even though this point of view is discouraged by such spokesmen as George S. Schuyler, columnist for the Pittsburgh *Courier*, and Walter White. White said not long ago: "Her first big hurdle is to demonstrate that she is at Lake Success not as a 'Negro' representative but as one capable of speaking as an American who happens incidentally to be a Negro."

That was the light in which Mrs. Sampson accepted her appointment. But, like other "firsts," she recognizes also an obligation to her race to set a high example, so that the paths of others to follow will not be difficult. She appears to be well on her way to accomplishing both of her aims.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Insult Added to Injury*

FRANCO'S desire to help Hitler and his inhumane treatment of Allied soldiers who sought refuge in Spain during World War II were notorious. The result was that, four years ago, the United Nations called upon its members to break diplomatic relations with him. We withdrew our ambassador from Madrid and handed Franco's Washington stooge his hat. More than once, we refused to resume friendly relations with the Spanish Fascist. Then Mr. Acheson, still insisting that Spain was a Fascist country where personal liberties were not recognized—except the liberty of the dictator to murder and exile his political enemies—made a thinly-disguised move in the direction of lifting the UN ban against Franco.

Lately, despite the protests of democratically-minded people in America and in other lands, we have finally swallowed the bitter pill compounded of our own words. We have given the recognition which we insisted we would not grant. We did not even exact some solace for our self-humiliation, by requiring that Franco in return restore to the Spanish people at least a modicum of the liberties denied them during the reign of terror. We surrendered a principle to Franco unconditionally. In condescendingly accepting our gift, he affronted us by offering Señor José Lequerica as his ambassador.

Two or three years ago Lequerica surreptitiously slipped into Washington in disguise. He did not come as ambassador. He did not have a diplomatic passport. He did not register as a foreign agent, nor did he present credentials to the State Department. He came, believe it or not, as "Inspector of Spanish Embassies." He has served as sub rosa Spanish ambassador, without recognition or credentials, for almost three years.

Along with Lequerica came Propper de Callejon, who has been posing as Spanish Chargé d'Affaires. Propper had previously been on Lequerica's staff when the latter was in Vichy as Spanish ambassador. Franco had proffered him to the re-established French Government as Spanish counselor, but Paris impolitely tagged him persona non grata. Probably Señor Propper will stay in Washington. Naturally, Lequerica, as ambassador, will want to keep his Fascist "buddy" with him. And, of course, Washington will not object. Washington is quite hospitable, both politically and socially, to the offscourings of Fascist Spain. We are not so squeamish as are the French; we only pretend to be.

As "Inspector of Embassies," during the considerable period that Lequerica has already been here, he has doubtless thoroughly learned the job of janitor—and eavesdropper. As "Inspector of Embassies," Lequerica has been received socially by the indiscriminating people, even as has Sen. Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin. I am anticipating the day when Lequerica will appear at the Department of State to present his credentials as ambassador and listen to the sugary encomiums, of himself and his master, by our own chiefs of State. That will be a proud and cherished hour for democracy. Portugal will soon have a trusted colleague with whom to plot and work against the democracy that we vaunt on occasion and then put back in mothballs.

It has been urged, as an excuse for our changeling policy as to Fascist Spain, that Franco and his Myrmidons will be a great military asset to us in the event of a war with Russia. There are competent military authorities who know more about this than the present Secretary of State who deny this. Some strategists insist that Spain will become a heavy additional burden militarily. Surely, there can be no doubt that Spain will be a financial liability. In no time at all, Franco will be demanding munitions and arms. He has already been a mendicant for money which lackeys, such as Senator McCarran, have been willing, at the cost of projects necessary to our own security, to abstract from any passing appropriation bill. Franco will expect us to defend his enslaved country. As for his opposing Russia, Franco would have to do that, with or without raids upon our treasury.

In bestowing upon America the beneficence of Lequerica, Franco has not been alone in generosity. In our turn, we are sending him none other than Stanton Griffis, an American millionaire who has only recently returned from the Argentine where he readily learned to fawn on Peron, fellow dictator of Franco and Salazar. Franco should be even more grateful to us for Griffis than we are to him for Lequerica. Franco will get along chummily with the obeisant Mr. Griffis, who, if we are to judge from his record in the Argentine, will even ignore or disobey instructions from Washington if by doing so he can ingratiate himself with the Generalissimo in Madrid. Not for nothing has Mr. Griffis had his "bootlicking training" in the court of Peron. He is prepared, without more ado, to carry on with Franco.

As for the tawdry assurances by Secretary Acheson that we would not recognize Franco because Spain is a Fascist state where liberty does not exist, why be captious? Principles are expendable when expendiency or self-interest calls the tune. HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

"DESTROY THEM WITH A MIGHTY DESTRUCTION"

by James R. Newman

"IN THE long run," as Lord Keynes once pointed out quite reasonably, "we shall all be dead." The opinion was voiced in more hopeful times. It now seems likely that the run for most of us may be considerably shortened. This, at any rate, is the intelligence to be derived from a small New Year's item

THE HELL BOMB, by William L. Laurence (Knopf; $2.75).

entitled *The Hell Bomb*, by William L. Laurence, science reporter for the New York *Times*. The hydrogen bomb, according to Laurence, is altogether feasible and we shall have the prototype on the testing tower before the year is over. Nineteen forty-five closed the TNT (or RDX) age and ushered in the A-age; 1951 marks the close of the latter and the beginning of the H-age. How rich in innovations, one reflects, is the century of the common man.

Mr. Laurence, it will be remembered, is the fortunate newspaperman who during the war was afforded access by General Groves to our secret atomic-energy plants and invited on the Nagasaki bombing mission. Since then, he has recounted his experiences for us in some detail. The hydrogen bomb first came to his notice when he was at Los Alamos in 1945. It was Hans Bethe, the noted Cornell physicist, who informed him, in reply to a question, that a bomb could be made equal to a million tons of TNT; "even more than a million." "I shall never forget [he writes] the impact on me of his quiet answer as he looked away toward the Sangre de Cristo (Blood of Christ) mountain range, their peaks turning blood-red in the New Mexico twilight. . . . The tops of the mountain seemed to catch fire as he spoke." That is a fair sample of his manner.

Laurence's account of the technical problems of making a hydrogen bomb is plausible. To be sure, he is given to flat statements about complex matters which scientists regard as far from settled. He has also a distinct tendency to throb and to exaggerate. Everything is "enormous," or "major," or "top," or is described by some other banality of grandiloquence. Nevertheless, the main dimensions of the scientific and engineering task of making this frightful weapon are adequately conveyed to the common reader.

The hydrogen bomb when and if completed will be a "package" bomb. Its main charge will be deuterium; it will be ignited by a small mixture of deuterium and tritium—the mixture being more "combustible" than deuterium alone—which, in turn, will have been set off by an old-fashioned atom bomb. Except for the tritium primer, the raw-material cost of the bomb will be $5 to $10 million, a moderate sum as nuclear bombs go. But the tritium will cost many times that much, as will the necessary fabricating facilities, though the latter of course will serve for the production of all future weapons which will go into what is called the "stockpile." The first bomb will be a little, experimental fellow. After testing it we can decide how big to make its successors. (Unlike the A-bomb, which has a maximum efficient size, the H-bomb has no theoretical upper limit. A bomb the size of the Yale Bowl would perhaps be inconvenient, but, if needed, could be constructed.) This decision will depend on whether we intend to destroy armies, cities, countries or the world. In the fight to preserve freedom many difficult questions of this sort are bound to arise.

One such question, however, is settled. No matter how big we decide to make the bomb and no matter how much it may destroy by fire, blast and radiation, the planet earth will remain. Man's resources are apparently limited to the extinction of his own works, himself and other organic matter.

A considerable portion of Laurence's book is devoted to his views on the military, political, social and ethical aspects of using the hydrogen bomb; on the proper attitude toward the "masters of the Kremlin"; on the true meaning of Korea; on international control of atomic energy. His opinions, while not novel, illumine the cast of his thought. He favors using the H-bomb against armies because this would conform to what he calls the "law of nations." He is opposed to using a bomb which is "rigged" to produce radioactivity. A modest-size, unrigged H-bomb would by blast kill everyone within an area of 300 square miles; by incineration, everyone within an area of more than 1,200 square miles. "No army in the field or on the march," he says neatly, "could stand up against it." Laurence does not believe in leveling cities or killing civilians because "the victor would have no spoils of victory left and would have to rebuild what he had needlessly destroyed." Future battles will presumably have to be fought in pre-selected unoccupied areas and the evacuation of large cities can thus be avoided—a helpful innovation. He scoffs at the "pernicious" catch phrase, "there is no defense to the atom bomb." His ingenious plan is to "detect them [the bomb carriers] and destroy them before they reach you." He suggests this can be accomplished if we try hard enough.

Having lost faith in the Soviet leaders, Laurence is unwilling to support the international atomic-energy-control proposals. They are "worthless." Even if the Russians were today to accept them in toto "we should be forced to say: 'Sorry, it is too late, you have missed your chance. Your actions have made the plan unworkable, since it cannot possibly work in an atmosphere of mutual

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distrust and the constant threat of little wars!" " (While it seems doubtful that he means the UN plan *could* be made to work if there were a constant threat of *big* wars, such an inference from what he says is certainly legitimate.) That he is not entirely out of patience with the Russian people may be seen from his program to drop "tiny balloons" over Russia carrying "small loaves of bread, packages of cigarettes, little trinkets for babies, nylon stockings for women, on a scale that no police could cope with." The Kremlin could not risk forbidding this since the people "badly need and want" such items.

Laurence is to be read, if at all, with circumspection. One's confidence in his grasp of technical as well as political problems is disturbed by his contradictions. On page 11, he says that thanks to the "arch traitor" Karl Fuchs, the Russians are probably five years ahead of us on H-bomb building; but on page 95, he says that we are five years ahead of them. Balancing these statements brings us out about even with the Russians—which may be a reasonable conjecture. But the subject is difficult, the facts obscure, the future uncertain and anyone venturing to pronounce on all three should be more careful and considerate of his readers' nervous systems.

THE OBDURATE RASCAL

THE LETTERS OF EZRA POUND: 1907-1941. Edited by D. D. Paige. With a Preface by Mark Van Doren (Harcourt, Brace; $5).

AN EXAMINATION OF EZRA POUND. A Collection of Essays edited by Peter Russell (New Directions; $3.75).

THE CASE of Ezra Pound has had almost the same fascination in the field of letters as the Hiss case in politics. In this episode, perhaps quite illogically, the values and the drift of an entire epoch have been brought into focus.

But what sense can be made of it? It is typical of the paradoxes involved that Mark Van Doren, recently under attack for his "radical" activities, should contribute a preface to the letters of the illustrious spokesman for Fascism, and it doesn't help much to add that Pound is "gone though he is not dead." He is not gone; he is not dead; he has never been so much with us, in fact, as during the last few years, while he has awaited trial for treason and been declared insane, and he is one of the most obdurate, disconcerting, gifted, infantile and incomprehensible rascals in the history of literature.

After having studied both these volumes carefully, I can, to paraphrase Mark Twain's anecdote, give a ready answer to the issues they raise: I don't know. But there is no doubt that "Old Ez" came straight out of that tradition of eccentrics, rebels, quacks, cranks and self-made messiahs who flourished on the Western border at the turn of the last century. The language of the frontier humorists that he cultivated in his letters was perhaps a tacit recognition of this fact, and he was, in his prime, a more vital, coarser, bolder figure than any of his disciples.

One of the interesting side-lights in the first group of letters, written from London during the decade before the First World War, is Pound's changing view of T. S. Eliot, whose poetry he had sponsored, but the mortuary tone of whose criticism went against his grain. "Did *you* kill *The Criterion*?" he wrote to Ronald Duncan at a later date. "Wot will pore Robbink doo gnow?—

Who killed Cock Possum?
Who bitched his blossom?"

—without malice, of course, as Ezra was always careful to add, and there is curiously little malice in his most scathing indictments, except of course when he had just received, as in the case of William Carlos Williams, some of that honest criticism he freely invited and even more freely distributed. Nor could he ever quite forgive Amy Lowell for advertising herself as the foremost figure in the Imagist group.

Perhaps another of his early friends, Hemingway, was right in describing Pound as a first-rate poet who devoted approximately a fifth of his time to his poetry; but could he settle even for that? The letters at least hardly give the impression of a poet so much as that of an editor, critic, propagandist, a manager, fixer, wet-nurse—a typical American idea man, in short, or a complete public-relations organization operating continuously and feverishly in behalf of the new poetry which denied public relations. The parallel with H. L. Mencken, with whom he also corresponded, is obvious, only Mencken could not apparently read Pound's work and Pound could read neither Mencken nor most of Mencken's young authors in the literary revival of the 1920s.

He had already moved into the field of medieval French and Italian verse, of Chinese and Japanese culture, of the classics and a complete absorption in form and language—one is tempted to add, in production technics and esthetic know-how. (Some of Pound's critical works, *How to Read*, *ABC of Economics*, *Guide to Kulchur*, are merely the furthest projection of our own homely "how-to" books.) There were only two roads to poetry, he declared, "the old man's road"—content, the insides, the subject matter—and: "music." "Nobody can DO anything about their contents anyhow; it either is or it isn't."

In Pound's case, at least in the later letters from Paris in the twenties and Rapallo in the thirties, it almost seems that it isn't—or that it is a context, so practical and material on the one hand, so specialized and esoteric on the other, that it simply skips over the whole range of durable human experience which has constituted the matrix of poetry. It is illuminating to compare Pound's letters with, say, the journals of Gide; and it is fascinating to realize how these pages, so vital and attractive on the surface, brimming with energy and exhortation, do in the end tell us almost nothing of those central areas of existence about which we care most deeply.

Perhaps never, indeed, has a major figure in the arts given so much of himself to correspondence—and so little. In the American grain, again, Pound's epistolary style is that of a busy executive with great verbal, or oral, imagination. Yet the surface of the prose is absolutely brilliant; this correspondence does constitute an essential document in the esthetic history of the period, and when we turn back to Pound's poetry itself, we understand suddenly that his whole emotional life—everything that he could not or did not express in his personal

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activities—must have flowed into his work. This was his single experience. Here, indeed, even the theme of usury, which became Pound's rationale for all social reform, and his obsession, and the trap which led him to believe in the corporate state, is converted into a poetic and dramatic vision of history.

An Examination of Ezra Pound is a useful collection of essays for those who are interested in the interpretation of the poetry, and there are good pieces by T. S. Eliot, Edith Sitwell, Wyndham Lewis and G. S. Fraser, among others. But the general tone of the volume—particularly in the selections by the young English critics who invariably open with a reference to Dr. Leavis—is precisely that "mortisme" which irritated Pound and which is composed in equal parts of piousness and snobbery.

MAXWELL GEISMAR

Maxwell Geismar is the author of "Writers in Crisis" and "The Last of the Provincials." He is now at work on the third volume of a history of the American novelists.

WIDOW IN ROME

THE ROMAN SPRING OF MRS. STONE, by Tennessee Williams (New Directions; $2).

TENNESSEE WILLIAMS' first novel (he has written short stories) is a rather thin, somewhat mechanical, coldly analytical and detached novella. It is written in the neopoetic symbolism of the current Capote manner and deals with a rich, retired American actress encountering emotions which are unfamiliar because they have been repressed. Her husband has died, her career is ended; she has taken refuge in present-day Rome. In bald, case-history terms, the book details such routine phenomena as substitute relationships, early sex deviations and fears, adolescent dominant trends, ersatz careers which are mere escape mechanisms.

In *The Roman Spring of Mrs. Stone*, the playwright diverges somewhat from his usual themes. In externals, his present heroine is still, like Blanche in "A Streetcar Named Desire," misplaced and disturbed. But Karen Stone is essentially motivated by a power-drive. She seeks power and prestige to evade normal experience.

Money (she is the widow of a millionaire); unusual physical beauty; an almost inhuman ruthlessness; astuteness (rather than native artistic gifts) were responsible for her theatrical success. In Rome, where her prestige does not operate, she meets reality and the demands of her own nature for the first time. She is natural prey for adroit dealers-in-emotion.

Inwardly, Mrs. Stone does not quite ring true. Her transition—which is the novel's core—from a woman notable for great executive ability to one obsessively interested in sex, seems arbitrary and extreme. Thus in Rome, where she intentionally cuts herself off from her former relations, she depends naively on an elderly, caricaturishly-evil Roman Contessa and an indolent young Italian nobleman, Conte Paolo. In the end, she turns to a handsome Italian vagrant (he shadows her as a kind of threat throughout the novel) who represents a crude symbol of naked maleness.

Nevertheless, the novel does have minute, telling flashes in the economical vistas and feeling for the backwashes and incongruities of contemporary Roman living; in the tactile sensuousness of decadent Paolo, revealed particularly during a massage in a barber shop; in Karen's odd mixture of knowing and unknowingness; in a tiny sketch of her friend Meg, a journalist of wide but impersonal vision.

For the purposes of a novel, Williams' rather elementary psychology—he deals in the effects of deviation rather than in root causes—seems oversimplified. Ideas are an almost invisible theme in his plays; the resulting dramatic juxtapositions and contrasts in personality and situation provide the necessary framework for dimly-lit, minor-key, nostalgic effects that are reminiscent of Chekhov. His novel reminds one of random psychoanalytic notes which are rarely transfused into a study of a rounded, affecting human being. NORMA CRANDALL

Norma Crandall, a free-lance writer and critic living in New York City, has contributed reviews and essays to the "North American Review," the "New Republic" and other magazines.

SOCIOLOGY AND MORAL LAW

FREEDOM, POWER, AND DEMOCRATIC PLANNING, by Karl Mannheim (Oxford University Press; $5).

SOCIOLOGY is obviously at the height of its power and prestige; it is known in Washington, it commands stacks of research money, and it attracts quantities of students. One is not astonished to find, therefore, that more genteel members of the academic family look down their noses at their once indigent relative. They must realize, however, that sociology has ceased to be the dreary thing it was when some of us were taught by recently promoted truant-officers. The ideas of Freud and Max Weber have been domesticated, brilliant mathematicians have become interested in social science, and the whole intellectual tone of the discipline has soared.

The late Karl Mannheim was one of the more distinguished figures in this renaissance of sociology. He was born in Hungary, became a German professor, and then fled to England, where he exerted considerable influence, notably on T. S. Eliot in his recent semantic phase. Mannheim's interest in social planning makes him an unusual figure today if only because of his willingness to write on issues which many sociologists avoid through excessive modesty or indifference. Like all disciplines which have escaped the parental and sometimes suffocating domination of philosophy, sociology has its personal problems. Chief among them, perhaps, is the need to prove itself a lusty young science; hence its excessive concern with what Aiken and Quine call methodolatry, and its elaborate protestations of moral neutrality. When large matters of social practice intrude themselves, they are often tossed to philosophers, who, since so many of them are interested in logical analysis alone, promptly toss them away. The result (and we can hardly lay the blame on sociologists alone) is a split between those who toil diligently at computing machines and those who reflect on the destiny of man. Theory and statistics should be the Smith Brothers of sociology but, alas, they are more like the Karamazovs; they do not eye each other affably.

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Mannheim, it should be pointed out, is not so much interested in justifying the moral aims which underlie social planning as in discovering how we can satisfy these aims while living in the Third Way—the only attainable alternative to either the dreadful reality of totalitarian communism or the obviously mythical state of pure capitalism. Mannheim's Third Way is no startling innovation in social theory, but it is rare to find a social thinker who is willing to analyze its significance with the help of what social science has discovered. Living in England, where a revision of society is taking place, he faced problems whose answers cannot be ground out on IBM machines. He not only argued the case for social security, full employment and educational opportunity, but he was also interested in developing a new man —a democratic personality who can live in a planned society and avoid the horrors of 1984.

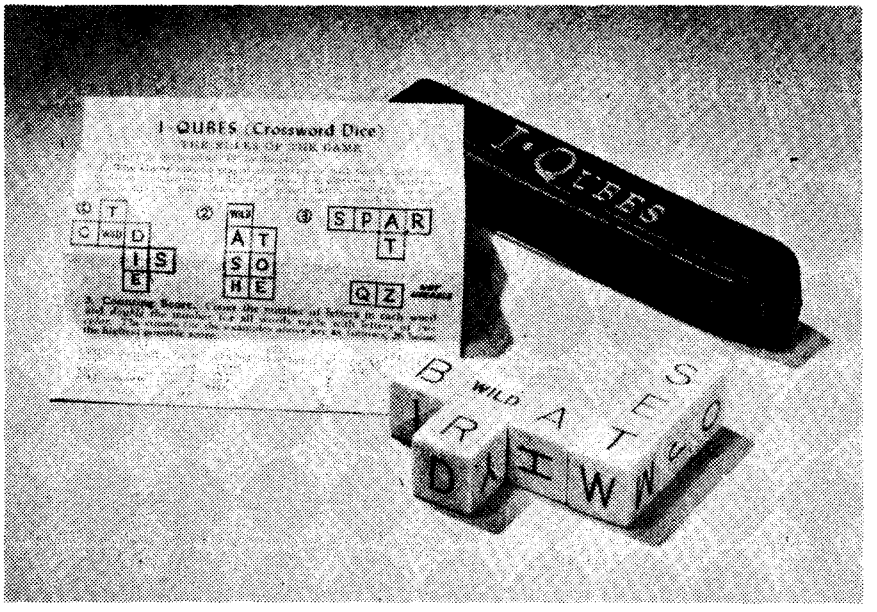
Hans Gerth and Ernest K. Bramsted in an illuminating introduction observe how Mannheim's interest in creating this new personality led him to stress the need for a social integration which, he supposed, could only be accomplished by religion. They also describe Mannheim's religion as one which is free from superstition, but Mannheim's few words on the subject do not bear such an interpretation. He speaks of a need to believe that the universe has a purpose and that there is a "Personal Power to whom man can appeal." The fact that he tries to justify this belief in the pragmatic manner of William James ("it is so deeply rooted that a world without purpose would mean a kind of homelessness hardly tolerable to a thoughtful being") is of secondary importance. What prevails here is the fact that he regards the object of his belief as transcendental; this is superstitious if anything is. Readers of Mannheim and of Eliot's *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* will now see how the literary lion came to lie down with the sociological lamb. But they must remember that while Mannheim was apparently persuaded of one of Eliot's inglorious dogmas—the necessity of a transcendental religion—he firmly resisted another—the necessity of a hereditary elite. Even those who deplore the first concession, however, must admire Mannheim for his honesty and his anxiety to set down what he believed even when it conflicted with his earlier secularism. This book is the political testament of a serious and cultivated social scientist worried about matters which worried Comte, Marx, Mill and Spencer. One hopes that it will encourage other social scientists and philosophers to address these larger questions. MORTON WHITE

Morton White is associate professor of Philosophy at Harvard University and the author of "Social Thought in America." He is now on a Guggenheim fellowship.

THEATRE: Lear and Stockmann

"KING LEAR" is a great play. That it has also been thought absurd or unactable is simply a mark of its difficulty. Seen merely as the lamentable tale of a father abused by his children, it *is* absurd; rendered according to the literal logic of each of its separate scenes, it *is* unactable. For the meaning of "Lear" is not contained in its plot line as one might recount it point by point, but in the total spirit of the work.

Lear is not destroyed by the cruelty of his daughters; this aspect of the drama is almost complete by the end of the first act. Lear's specific folly in the division of his kingdom does not constitute the essence of his tragedy. Nor is the shock of his daughters' disloyalty the core of his drama. Lear's folly lies in the belief that having given away the outer trappings of his regal position, he still possesses power. His tragedy is the searing discovery that everything in life—including the institutions of



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law and order—is vain show except the fact, rather than the vows, of love. As king, protected by place, he knew nothing of life or even of his kingdom. Alone, like every other man, he finds that "unaccommodated man is no more than such a poor, bare, fork'd animal" as the vagrants and lunatics in the tempest. There is no protection against the ague of life except in love.

"Lear" is a timeless play: Shakespeare made every effort to situate it at no identifiable moment of history. The story is that of a barbaric king, a primitive man, learning life's hard lessons with a kind of pristine naïveté that is both brutishly savage and frighteningly new, as if the terror of life were being recognized by man for the first time. Lear's "Ay, every inch the king" is either ironic self-contempt or the description of a man who is king chiefly by virtue of his volcanic passion and suffering. Lear is a sacrificial "Neanderthal" symbol portraying the torment of human experience in a world still too raw to offer secondary consolations.

The current "Lear" is better than most of the Shakespearean productions we have seen hereabouts for a long time. Most of the lines are spoken with admirable intelligence and almost every member of the cast is a person of talent and stage attractiveness. The physical production is expert and properly styled for a tragedy in which the accidents of environment are not to be stressed. Louis Calhern gives an imposing reading of the central role, and in the quiet scene with the Fool in which Lear murmurs distractedly, "I did her wrong," he is truly fine. In fact Calhern does everything with Lear that a "prose" understanding of the play can yield, while most of the others—notably Martin Gabel, Norman Lloyd, Joseph Wiseman, Arnold Moss, Jo Van Fleet—supply touches that are valuable or interesting. The fault is not in any individual part or detail, but in the lack of a master conception. For this reason, the production reminded me of the "pony" translations which, as schoolboys, we used to construe our Latin texts. They were practical, but they weren't poetry.

However severe our judgment of any production of a play such as "Lear," we must not lose sight of the main fact: we are in the presence of something very rare and special in the theatre. The same holds for "An Enemy of the People," though it is not the best of Ibsen.

It would seem to me a species of hypocrisy to dwell too long on the difference between Ibsen's original play and Arthur Miller's Americanized version of it, or to complain too strenuously that the director, Robert Lewis, has made something of a poster of Ibsen's scrupulous realism. The new production screams and postures youthfully where Ibsen was obliquely humorous, mordant and haughty. Yet what we see now is part of a world where some screaming is in order and where youthful indignation is more tonic than suave resignation.

In its present form "An Enemy of the People" makes the audience the play's protagonist. We catch fire not on Dr. Stockmann's account so much as on our own. The issue is no longer the doctor's fight against the prejudice of bourgeois interests but our own right to hold and express "unpopular" opinions. The audience identifies itself with Stockmann despite the fact that Ibsen's Stockmann felt that he was an individual being stifled by mass stupidity and the fears of the majority, whereas our audience feels itself, if not the majority, at least a powerful mass being stifled by the stupid fears of a hysterical minority.

This leads to a certain amount of artistic and philosophic confusion, but it is inevitable when art is caught in the tempest of social turmoil, and I could not—and for the moment did not wish to—preserve my critical calm, preferring instead to let myself be swept along by the excitement that the approach employed here generates. All values are transformed: Ibsen's doctor is a sweet simpleton who rises to a crotchety dignity and a sardonic, gnarled determination. Fredric March's Stockmann is a moral Lochinvar with a bright face and a splendidly ringing voice, so that at the end I had no patience with a discussion of whether or not Morris Carnovsky as the doctor's brother was too villainous, but wanted to cry out, "Strike! Strike! Strike!" as in the old days when we were all waiting for Lefty. . . . Everything influences the theatre: sex, publicity, escape psychology, snobism, slothfulness. Why shouldn't the frustration of our silence also find its clamorous voice?

HAROLD CLURMAN

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ON THE AIR

The Educators Mobilize

A REAL BATTLE is blowing up in the office of the Federal Communications Commission in the Post Office Building. *The Public and Education*, an unsensational little monthly published by the National Education Association, headlined its December issue: "Educators Battle for TV Rights." It's an all-out fight, and the commercial broadcasters have been forced to take up arms.

I reported the opening skirmishes in my column of December 11. The FCC was then holding hearings on a proposal made some 18 months earlier by one of the Commissioners, Frieda B. Hennock, who wants television channels reserved for the non-commercial use of educational broadcasters. The "industry" paid little attention to Miss Hennock's idea when she first voiced it. Its attitude was: Let the longhairs talk themselves out; nothing will happen.

For once the commercial experts were wrong. First, the talkers included 62 representatives from colleges, universities, the United States Office of Education, the National Education Association and other groups that are not easily pushed aside. Second, the specially organized Joint Committee on Educational Television had formed a lobby that was as intelligently conducted as many established for purposes, let us say, of grab-

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bing oil lands or protecting the country from oleomargarine. General Telford Taylor, who had been one of the prosecutors at the Nuremberg trials, was engaged as counsel and conducted the case for the educators with a good deal of dignified zip. An appeal was sent out, signed by Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins, of the University of Chicago; Chancellor R. G. Gustavson, of the University of Nebraska; and President Homer P. Rainey, of Stephens College.

When a couple of thousand of pages of testimony had been presented by the educators, industry woke up. The National Association of Broadcasters decided it had better get in there and mend some fences. Frank Stanton, president of CBS, applied for the right to appear. The hearings resume on January 22.

The educators will be there again when the new session is opened. They will bring a telecommunications engineer with them who will have some data to knock down any notions that it is physically impossible to allocate channels for purely educational purposes. There will be another set of data, designed to answer industry's contention that "we know how to do the educational job and are, in fact, already doing some of it." Two professors from the Middle West are set for that job, and I expect it to be a honey. I watched their operation at work, over the weekend preceding this writing, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York.

The men are Dallas W. Smythe, an economist formerly on the FCC staff, now at the University of Illinois; and Donald Horton, for three years director of television audience research for Stanton's own CBS, now in the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago. Smythe and Horton came to New York one day for a conference with Taylor, Seymour N. Siegel, president of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, and three or four others behind the Joint Committee's drive. Someone mentioned the need for an accurate survey of exactly what television is doing currently along educational lines. Twenty-four hours later, that survey was under way.

Into a suite at the Waldorf, Smythe and Horton moved a battery of television receiving sets, each equipped with a pair of headphones. The object was to monitor each of the seven TV stations in the New York metropolitan area for one entire week.

I went through dozens of the cards upon which the monitors have recorded their raw data. I won't steal the Smythe-Horton thunder by pre-reporting the statistical information I saw, but I can assure you that even the articulate Dr. Stanton will not be able to answer all the tough ones to be brought up.

For once, we shall know by accurate count the answers to such questions as: How many of the TV programs on the air in the country's largest "market"—*i.e.*, New York—are commercially sponsored, and how many are sustainers? What's the proportion of live programming to films, and at what times? Is it true that variety shows and vaudeville dominate the evening hours from seven to eleven, when citizens at home might conceivably learn from television something beyond boffolas and the depth of Faye Emerson's cleavage? How educational are daytime home-making and cooking programs, loaded with 10 to 24 commercials per half-hour? How many religious programs are on the TV air on Sunday, as against circuses, faded Westerns and funny but hardly informative Disney prints? That's what Smythe and Horton can tell us.

Other things are happening around broadcasting that deserve attention. Henry Morgan is going back on the air, to do a screwballish "talent" hunt for Campbell soups over NBC-TV, Fridays at nine (beginning January 26). . . . Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's daily radio program, now on WNBC (New York only) but soon to go on the NBC network, will be worth listening to. This column must be immodest enough to claim some of the credit for the fact that Elliott Roosevelt will no longer spiel the commercials on his mother's show; instead, the selling will be done by Ben Grauer, who combines taste and intelligence with the best techniques of commercial announcing. SAUL CARSON

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